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NOT MAJORITY RULE, BUT WHO'S BOSS
That was the question dividing Democrat Smith (left) and Democrat Rayburn (in composite photo) in fight for Rules Committee control

LIBERAL LEGISLATION AT STAKE

Retreat on Rules Committee fight forces last-ditch stand

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

THE STRUGGLE to liberalize the House Rules Committee erupted into a crucial and dirty political power fight before the scheduled Jan. 31 vote on Speaker Sam Rayburn's plan to increase its membership. The outcome was so uncertain and posed such a threat to President Kennedy's legislative program that an earlier vote was postponed for more time to line up support for Rayburn. House Republicans and Dixiecrats worked just as hard to preserve their coalition control.

At immediate issue is the power of six Dixiecrat and Republican reactionaries on the 12-member committee to prevent the House from voting on bills they oppose (in the last Congress they blocked or seriously delayed action on aid to education, housing, aid to depressed areas, civil rights, and Taft - Hartley amendment). Also at issue is whether Speaker Rayburn or committee chairman Howard Smith (D-Va.) is the real boss of the House. More fundamentally, the issue is whether the Dixicrat-GOP coalition will control Congress and be able to defeat major portions of Kennedy's legislative program.

STRATEGY OF RETREAT: In a series of retreats, the House Democratic leadership earlier spiked liberal proposals to reduce the committee's power by removing Rep. William Colmer (D-Miss.) who opposed Kennedy's election. Speaker Rayburn preferred, in what he called a "painless approach," to enlarge the committee from 12 to 15 members. Assuming that all five Republican members support the coalition, Rayburn's appointment of two

(Continued on Page 4)

THE VICTORY IN NEW ROCHELLE

Jimcrow school knocked out in first court test in North

By Joanne Grant

THE FIRST Federal court order in history against a jimcrow school in the North was handed down Jan. 24 in Southern District Court, New York. It directed the Board of Education of New Rochelle, a New York City suburb, to present a plan to desegregate its Lincoln elementary school by April 14 and to integrate it in September. The case was initiated by the parents of 11 Negro pupils at Lincoln.

Judge Irving R. Kaufman accused the Board of Education of a "preoccupation with semantics at the expense of realities." He said the Lincoln school district had been gerrymandered and that "the board by its arbitrary rejection of all proposals for change has purposefully maintained Lincoln as a segregated school."

Judge Kaufman held that the Board, "by its conduct in the years prior to 1949, created and established the Lincoln School as a segregated, Negro school." He concluded that "the constitutional rights of those confined within this segregated establishment have been violated."

A MILESTONE: Lawyer for the complainants, Paul B. Zuber, told the GUARDIAN: "The decision is going to have a great effect on the country, both North and South. In the North, boards of education now will have to really come to grips with the question of segregated schools and evaluate their acts to perpetuate segregation.

"In the South, the Federal government has knocked over all the laws recently enacted to perpetuate segregated schools. Now they are in the position where they cannot use the same techniques that have been used in Northern communities. The South has been caught up with in six years; it took 50 in the North."

Zuber sent wires to Merryle S. Rukeyser, president of the Board; Herbert C. Clish, superintendent of schools, and Murray C. Fuerst, the city's corporation counsel, requesting immediate placement of the Negro children in schools other than Lincoln. Zuber said if the transfers are not granted, he will seek relief in a Federal court. "The papers are already drawn up," he said.

1949 FREEZE: Zuber asked education experts to offer their services to the Board when it formulates its integration plan, or to evaluate the plan the Board submits to the court. They are Dan W. Dodson, NYU professor who in a 1957 study made at the request of the board recommended that Lincoln school be abandoned and the pupils dispersed to other schools; Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, CCNY psychology professor, and Frank Turner, Fred Williams and John King, who in 1960 prepared a study of school segregation for the New York City Board of Education.

Judge Kaufman's 48-page opinion dealt with all aspects of the controversy which began in 1949 when the present Lincoln district lines were drawn. The judge

wrote: "The 'freeze' placed by the Board in 1949 on the already gerrymandered boundaries of the Lincoln district remained unchanged, despite 11 years of public agitation, pleas and advice from distinguished educators and sociologists. And, what is more, the Board has not evidenced any intention to change its policies in the future."

The opinion dealt with a referendum last year which approved building a new Lincoln school on the present site. Lincoln parents opposed the proposal as a plan to perpetuate segregation. The judge said "the fact that the people of New Ro-

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THE KEY AREAS ARE CUBA, LAOS AND THE CONGO

Test for JFK: How to treat underdeveloped lands

By Kumar Goshal

DURING THE ELECTION campaign last year, John F. Kennedy expressed the belief that "the next President of the U.S. is going to have to **lead**—and lead fast." A fundamental change in U.S. economic relations with underdeveloped countries was to be one of his first acts. Last week he was reappraising policy toward the Congo, Laos and Cuba; the result would show whether or not he has any constructive changes to propose.

Kennedy in his inaugural address said: 'To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves." He offered Latin Americans "a special pledge . . . to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty."

The President so far has offered no detailed blueprint, but he has indicated a general outline of how the U.S. should help the underdeveloped countries "help themselves." The merits of his outline can be judged by understanding (1) what lies behind the world's "mass misery"; (2) what must be done to eliminate it; (3) what people in underdeveloped lands are doing to "help themselves"; (4) the nature of U.S. help today, and (5) the changes Kennedy has indicated and how they stack up against the needs of the underdeveloped countries.

RETARDED ECONOMIES: Generally speaking, the "mass misery" from which "peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe" are suffering stems from a retarded economic structure based on outmoded cultivation of land belonging to giant landlords—domestic and foreign—and on the exploitation of mineral resources by foreign investors.

"The landlords wish to retain wealth and power by keeping the peasants docile and their labor cheap; the foreign investors want to make the maximum profit

(Continued on Page 9)

THE MAIL BAG

Extinct species?

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

Just now there impends a strike among the lettuce pickers in the Salton Sea area. Lettuce used to be packed in sheds. Now machines cut it and by next year it will be packed, crated and put in the refrigerator cars without being touched by filthy human hands. Just as the Southern sharecropper's job is done by a machine that plants, cultivates and picks cotton.

One farmer in the San Joaquin Valley near Fresno has 50 cotton-picking machines, each of which displaces from 50 to 100 pickers.

So far, a satisfactory tomato picker is yet to be put on the market. It is claimed that one operating on something like color TV is being perfected. This, of course, will only grab the reds, and applied to apple picking, becomes a "color" picker. Apparently the fruit and vegetable tramps who followed the season from Imperial Valley to the Canadian border will soon join the sharecropper and the dodo.

George Sogle

The economic Race

CLEVELAND, O.

On checking with my slide rule, I've concluded that the Russians will catch up with us in industrial output in 1969.

I consider the little book by Victor Perlo, U.S.A. & U.S.S.R.: **The Economic Race** ($2.50 cloth; $1.25 paper. International Publishers, 381 4th Ave., N.Y.C.) to be the most important book published here in 1960. It is sound and simplified economics, my only criticism being that he did not sufficiently bring out the fact that we have an enormous excess of productive capacity, much of which will be replaced with automated equipment; without a complete change of foreign policy allowing a vastly increased trade with the socialist nation, we will have an increasing number of unemployed people and idle factories.

L. C. Davis

For Lyla McDowell

DULUTH, MINN.

In tribute to the crusading spirit of our dear friend Lyla McDowell, we are sending a memorial to the GUARDIAN in her honor. During the years we knew her, she served the cause of peace and brotherhood and the economic well-being of people everywhere.

Were she still with us, this $50 gift to a newspaper she read with keen interest and deeply appreciated would make her happy.

For ourselves and for our late friend, we thank the GUARDIAN for its effort to make available facts we all need in these times.

Duluth Friends

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

In Russia the number of citizens per doctor is 613, while in this country it is 733. In Russia the number of hospital beds per 1,000 persons is 13, in this country 9.2. They lick us on both those counts. But when it comes down to one which is of really great importance, the average number of days per length of stay, we find in Russia it is 23 days, as compared to 7.4 days in this country. This could indicate many things . . .

It could indicate . . . the American trait of get-up-and-go, our brand of initiative never fully known nor understood in other countries. In other words, the Russian when hospitalized undoubtedly takes advantage of his stay and lingers for it gives him an opportunity to rest and relax such as he does not encounter in his normal everyday routines. This might be a snide way that all Comrades have of getting back at the Communist political bosses.

—From **Hospitalk**, bulletin of the Associated Hospital Service (Blue Cross) of Arizona.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: A.M., New York City

High Time

ERWIN, TENN.

I've been listening to appeals on the radio for contributions to "CARE" so it can furnish British Honduras with some medical machinery, as there's only one X-ray machine in the country. My answer is: Since the great, rich United Fruit Co. and the great royal rich lords and ladies of Britain have made millions exploiting the people and the bananas down there, why can't they be made to buy something for those long-suffering inhabitants? Maybe its about time for the folks down there to get in touch with maestro Castro.

Ernest Seeman

Refugees or deserters?

JACKSON HEIGHTS, N.Y.

A Mr. Richardson Jr., seeking collections for Cuban refugees, appeals to the American people not to refuse funds to Cuban refugees who choose to desert their country in time of reform and reconstruction.

I believe that such people are not to be considered welcome in any country including our own as they are bound to do the same here if we don't let them live on the fat of this land.

Mike Roussos

Un-Christian system

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I would like to say "Bravo" to Charles Pemberton whose letter apropos of Cardinal Spellman's shameful infantilism in regard to Fidel Castro you published (Jan. 16). I wonder how His Eminence will feel toward other Latin American leaders in the near future (all of them, like Fidel Castro, born Roman Catholics) when they follow the example of Castro as they will do, unless the Roman Catholic Church through its bishops and cardinals wakes up and puts the teaching of Jesus Christ to work. The whole of Latin America is in ferment because of an unjust and un-Christian economic system which is being bankrolled and subsidized by the U.S.A.

As I informed your readers, I am organizing the Catholic Church of the North-American Rite. Some of its beliefs and attitudes on the burning questions of our day are quite different on many subjects from those of Cardinal Spellman. A leaflet outlining the stand of the Catholic Church of the North-American Rite on peace, civil rights, distribution of ownership, agrarian reform, abolition of private ownership of natural resources, etc., will be sent to anyone writing to me.

Clarence E. Duffy
639 E. 12th St.

Eccles, London Daily Worker

"Well, it says 'Fire Extinguisher,' but I can't see it in the catalogue."

No deterrent

BRIXHAM, ENGLAND

Thirty countries have abolished the death penalty without any rise in the murder rate. If capital punishment were the deterrent that its advocates claim, there would be no murders in England, France or America.

Rhoda Clarke

Gen. Swing & Belfrage

EL CAJON, CALIF.

The shoddy treatment accorded Cedric Belfrage by the Immigration & Naturalization Service on his trip to Cuba des not surprise me. The affair reflects the stupid sadism of many military minds.

Gen. Swing, who heads the service, seems to find it necessary to throw his weight around to reassure himself. Here in Southern California he has ordered that motorists be stopped and questioned as much as 100 miles above the Mexican border.

It will be interesting to see what Kennedy will do with him. What he does do will tell us much about Kennedy's "liberalism."

Robert Karger

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ON JAN. 8, 1949, Mrs. Ruby Stroud Floyd, wife of a department store manager in Martinsville, Va., was raped in a Negro section of town, she said. She could not identify positively the men who raped her. She thought there were 13 or 14.

Police sped into the section searching for Negroes "with mud on their shoes." After two days they had seven men in the Martinsville jail and a large crowd outside. The seven were handed prepared "confessions." They told a group of ministers later they had the choice: sign or face the lynch mob. They signed.

They were tried in six separate trials. The jury, in each case lily white, considered the verdict quickly, deliberating no more than one hour on any one decision. The verdict was all guilty. The sentence was death for all.

The appeals—brought by Civil Rights Congress attorneys—were lost. The U.S. Supreme Court declined to "intervene." So did a score of persons in power, including the President. Governor John S. Battle of Virginia, finding it a "heinous crime," also declined. Joe Henry Hampton, 20, Howard Lee Hairston, 19, Booker T. Milner, 20, and Frank Hairston, Jr., 19, were put to death on Fri., Feb. 2; James Hairston, 21, John Clabon Taylor, 22, and Francis Desales Grayson, 38, on Feb. 5.

From the ALP's Vito Marcantonio came this comment: "This lynching will long endure in the memory of mankind as a national disgrace. What is just as shocking is the fact that not one public official has raised his voice in protest."

—From the National Guardian, Feb. 7, 1951

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Vol. 13, No. 17 — 401 — February 6, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

The unchillables

MINNEAPOLIS

SINCE I LEFT blizzard-ridden New York on Jan. 21 on this GUARDIAN tour of the United States, I have been following what can only be described as the polar arc. As the arc extended into the North Central states it got colder and colder until the climax was reached in Minneapolis with the mercury reading 28 below zero.

But if the weather grew increasingly inhospitable from city to city, the reception by GUARDIAN readers and their friends became increasingly warm — to such an extent that I can only regard this trip, at the halfway point, as one of my most moving experiences of the GUARDIAN's 12-year history.

The blizzard which grounded the planes and the harbor strike which stopped the trains blocked me in New York Jan. 20 so I had to miss the first meeting scheduled for that night on Chicago's South Side. When I got to Chicago the next day, I learned that William Davidon, the brilliant physicist of the Argonne National Laboratories and one of the most compelling voices for peace in the nation, had pinch-hit at the last moment and given a stirring talk to the hundred people who had come out in Chicago's zero weather.

THE NEXT NIGHT I was in the flesh on the North Side where more than a hundred people turned out for a fine meeting in Skokie. It was a lively affair: Dr. Tyler Thompson, director of the Illinois division of the ACLU, was a guest and was called on to talk about the campaign to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee; a Chicago newspaperman gave his views of the newspaper business based on his experiences, and then I spoke on the press and the world crisis, as I have done at all meetings from that point on. And Peggy Kraft Lipschutz, both South Side and North Side, gave a charming and pointed chalk talk on Jane Addams, the history of Chicago and politics, and wound up with a marvelous sketch of a mother holding her child with one hand while holding an open copy of the GUARDIAN in the other.

Despite the inexorably descending mercury, no one wanted to go home, and the questions came thick and fast: What about a thaw in the cold war? Did the fact that Kennedy had surrounded himself with cultured men (Adlai Stevenson is out of Chicago) mean that we could look for a cultural lift in the nation? Will **our** Mr. K meet with **their** Mr. K? And so on. There was great seriousness, but high good humor too. Sprinkled through the room were people who had been victimized by the witch-hunt and packinghouse workers and doctors and businessmen and old radicals. And for the GUARDIAN warm words of gratitude and affection.

MILWAUKEE STRETCHED bleak and cold in the twilight on Jan. 23, but in the Shield Room of the Hotel Wisconsin there was the biggest and brightest gathering in years on the progressive side to greet the visitor from New York. And if fifty doesn't sound big, it was—for Milwaukee—and it gives a measure of the decline of activity on the Left in some areas. There were in the audience Unitarians and members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, familiar faces of the Progressive Party days (one of the pleasantest being that of civil liberties attorney M. Michael Essin, who was the chairman); representatives of all groups on the political Left. And one existentialist.

But most impressive of all was the fact that people had come from Fond du Lac (65 miles away), Campbellsport (50 miles) and Racine (32 miles). A round trip in that weather was not something to look forward to, but they came because they very much wanted to be a part of the evening and to share in the exchange.

IT WAS MINNESOTA NEXT, and one permanent picture in my mind is that of a lady from Georgia gathering herself to get off the plane at the Minneapolis-St. Paul airport as though she were about to enter the gates of hell frozen over. But the Devil never let the fire die down the way it had died down in Minneapolis. At that point it was 8 below.

Minneapolis is a city with character; you sense that almost immediately. And when you got to know the people you understood why. It is hard to convey the spirit of the meeting the night of Jan. 24 at the Andrews Hotel. Close to 100 people were there—past the

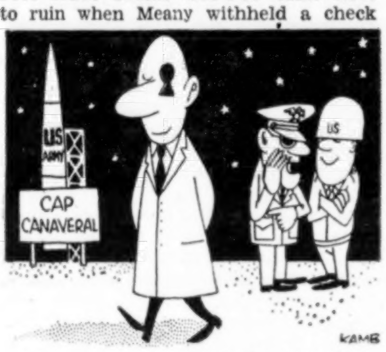
(Continued on Page 12)

AFL-CIO ALSO FEUDS WITH UN GROUP

Meany dangles checkbook to squeeze world labor body

AFL-CIO PRESIDENT George Meany is used to having his way on foreign policy matters. When he proposes resolutions at AFL-CIO meetings to intensify the cold war, those who disagree keep still in the interests of unity. But Meany's efforts to export his views to international labor groups have touched off rugged fights. His notion that he can call the tune because the AFL-CIO pays most of the bills has not always been taken kindly.

Last month the Intl. Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) came close to ruin when Meany withheld a check



Kamb. Humanite, Paris
Spy-satellite expert

for $221,000 because the organization rejected his nominee for a post on the ground that he was a U.S. intelligence agent.

AFL-CIO leaders are also threatening to withhold funds from the UN's Intl. Labor Organization (ILO) because it published a survey reporting favorably on Soviet trade unions.

MEANY'S BOY: A long-simmering feud broke into the open at the ICFTU congress in Brussels in December, 1959. Meany wanted a general overhaul of the organization, including the removal of general secy. J. H. Oldenbroek because he had grown "soft on communism." He also proposed intensive aid to Asian, African and Latin American unions to ensure their commitment to the "free world."

Aligned against Meany were British Trades Union Congress leaders and most other European union officials. They rankled at his opposition to summit meetings and general disarmament. They were also touchy at his references to Western colonialism in Africa.

British steel union leader Harry Douglass saw the issue in underdeveloped countries as the need to "fill empty bellies," rather than to enlist the people against communism.

A compromise continued Oldenbroek in office until last June and set up a committee to study reorganization.

Omer Becu of Belgium replaced Oldenbroek last summer and four assistant general secretary posts were created. In December, Meany nominated Irving Brown, AFL-CIO European representative, for one of the jobs. But he was not appointed because, according to the Washington **Post**, "some European unionists . . . view him as an operative of the Central Intelligence Agency and not as an independent unionist."

THE COMPROMISE: Brown has been cited often as a CIA agent. He was a member of the Independent Labor League in the Thirties, organized by Jay Lovestone after he was expelled from the Communist Party. Lovestone went on to a career in the AFL as a foreign affairs expert dedicated to undermining the U.S.S.R., taking Brown with him. The Chicago **Daily News** reported in 1955: "It can be stated without qualification that the CIA . . . has in recent years obtained much of its primary information about international communism from Lovestone." Lovestone is currently Meany's foreign policy adviser and speech-writer.

When Brown was not appointed, Meany refused to pay $221,000 to the ICFTU Solidarity Fund, due last Dec. 31 for the period from 1957 to 1960. Meany complained that the reorganization plan had bogged down and his pet aid-Africa project was suffering. He reportedly told a meeting of AFL-CIO leaders that he would just as soon pull out of ICFTU and administer aid directly.

But a compromise was reached at an AFL-CIO executive committee meeting Jan. 21, with auto union president Walter Reuther acting as mediator. Meany withdrew Brown's nomination and sent the check. But ICFTU officials agreed that the funds would be earmarked for Africa. ICFTU president Arne Geijer and Becu also agreed to have reorganization plans ready for a March 13 meeting in Brussels.

ILO IN DISFAVOR: Meany said that the AFL-CIO would announce at the March meeting whether it would continue to support the Solidarity Fund and to what extent. He also said that the AFL-CIO would continue independent activities in world labor.

GEORGE MEANY IS USED TO HAVING HIS WAY
But Walter Reuther (r.) helped avoid a 'free world' crisis

One of Meany's independent activities apparently is to try to set ILO policies. An ILO team of experts from Britain, France, Poland and Ceylon recently completed parallel on-the-spot surveys on "the trade union situation" in the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The U.S. had no representative on the study mission but it checked the report prior to publication. The U.S.S.R. sent on official interpreter, read the report and asked for some amendments.

AFL-CIO officials exploded when they read the final Soviet report. Lovestone said that it was "a fake which completely distorts the picture in favor of the Russians." Steelworkers officials are preparing a report for Labor Secy. Arthur J. Goldberg calling for "a complete review of U.S. labor's attitude toward the ILO."

Rudy Faupl of the Machinists union said that the report "definitely kills any possibility of an AFL-CIO donation" to the ILO Intl. Institute for Labor Studies.

But John Price, an Englishman who headed both surveys, argued: "Whatever reservations may be made about the U.S.S.R. report, it must be remembered that this is the first occasion since the Soviet regime was established that the Soviet government has allowed a mission from an intergovernmental organization to make an on-the-spot study in the Soviet Union and bring out a report which is a public document.'

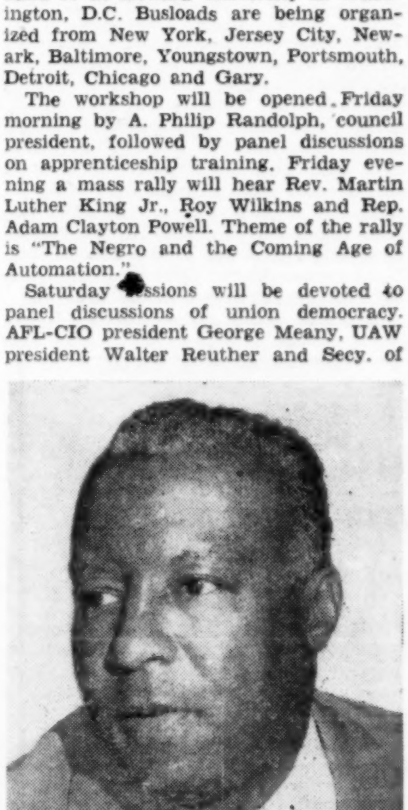
3,000 EXPECTED TO ATTEND

Negro Council workshop to consider job jimcrow

MORE THAN 3,000 Negro working men and women are expected to take part in the Negro American Labor Council's workshop on discrimination in labor, industry and government Feb. 17 aand 18 at Howard University in Washington, D.C. Busloads are being organized from New York, Jersey City, Newark, Baltimore, Youngstown, Portsmouth, Detroit, Chicago and Gary.

The workshop will be opened Friday morning by A. Philip Randolph, council president, followed by panel discussions on apprenticeship training. Friday evening a mass rally will hear Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Roy Wilkins and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell. Theme of the rally is "The Negro and the Coming Age of Automation."

Saturday sessions will be devoted to panel discussions of union democracy. AFL-CIO president George Meany, UAW president Walter Reuther and Secy. of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg have been invited to attend.


A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
"Change has to be exacted"

CHANGES NEEDED: The workshop will "dramatize current practices of discrimination and segregation in labor, industry and government." Randolph said the aim is to "motivate the Negro worker to his own responsibility to bring about change." The Negro cannot delegate his responsibility; he must bring pressure and compel change, Randolph said: "Change has to be exacted. Pressure must be exerted in every area of the labor movement."

Council leaders have asked for an appointment with President Kennedy to discuss executive action to reduce unemployment facing the Negro worker, to create new employment opportunities, and to eliminate discrimination in apprenticeship training programs. "But," Randolph said, "we are not depending on Kennedy; we are depending on ourselves."

Randolph pointed out that estimated unemployment by March will be 7%, but that unemployment among Negroes is almost 14% at present. The Council stresses the need for apprenticeship training for Negro youth to meet the threat of automation.

SUPPORT SOUGHT: The Council seeks the support of Negro churches and community organizations to "overcome the apathy of the Negro people who do not fully realize the urgency of the economic problem facing them." The New York State Baptist Convention last month adopted a resolution supporting the workshop and pledged financial assistance.

In preparation for the workshop, rallies are planned by local chapters to arouse community interest. A Feb. 6 meeting at Corner Baptist Church, 574 Madison St., Brooklyn, will be addressed by Randolph and Rev. Thomas Kilgore. A Newark rally is scheduled for Feb. 8 at Scotts Hall.

The Council was formed at a convention in Detroit last June and has a membership of about 10,000. Its headquarters are at 217 W. 125th St., New York City.

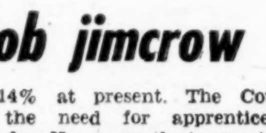
BOOKS

Have You Read
Inside the Khrushchev Era
by Giuseppe Boffa

Originally published at $5, you can get this fascinating book **FREE** in the special offer of **PROMETHEUS BOOK CLUB.** Watch for the announcement in the mail!

Old King Anthracite is dead

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, like the story of hunger in the coal fields on page 6, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting to reach intelligent points of view. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subs. Just $1 for 13 weeks, $5 for a year.



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INTEGRATION IS THE TARGET

Braden subpenaed by Florida committee at rally criticizing it

Special to the Guardian

DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.

CARL BRADEN, white integration leader, was served with a summons from the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee as he was criticizing the committee at a meeting of the Volusia County NAACP here Jan. 25.

Braden, a field secretary and editor for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, New Orleans, was ordered to appear before the committee in Tallahassee on Feb. 9. The committee has been harassing Negro ministers in Florida because they refuse to reveal membership lists of the NAACP.

CARL BRADEN
He won't answer questions

The summons was served on Braden as he discussed the jail sentence of the Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, Miami, and the threat to jail the Rev. A. Leon Lowry, Tampa, for their defiance of the committee. Father Gibson is under a six-month sentence for contempt, which has been upheld by the Florida Supreme Court. He plans an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. Mr. Lowry faces the threat of imprisonment during the session of the State Legislature opening in April.

SENTENCE APPEALED: Braden is under a one-year sentence for contempt of Congress because he refused to cooperate with the House Committee on Un-American Activities at a hearing in Atlanta in 1958. The U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments in his case last November and a decision is pending. He and Gibson and Lowry base their defiance of the committees on First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech, press, worship, assembly, and petition.

Braden has asked the Florida committee for a month's postponement because of family commitments. He also said that the committee might want to delay its hearings in view of the pending Supreme Court decision.

Braden said he will refuse to answer any questions put to him by the Florida committee. "They are merely using their powers to hamper work for integration in the South," he declared.

Herblock, Washington Post
"Looks like the same old tribe at the pass"

Rules Committee

(Continued from Page 1)

added anti-coalition members would give him control of the committee by 8 to 7.

Badly outmaneuvered by Rep. Smith and his coalition colleague, Minority Leader Charles Halleck (R-Ind.), Rayburn finally had to call for White House help. The retreats and compromises by Rayburn and Majority Leader John McCormack (D-Mass.) resulted in a danger of a devastating Congressional defeat for the new Administration. After discussing the crisis at President Kennedy's first White House conference with his legislative leaders on Jan. 24, the scheduled vote on Jan. 26 was postponed for five days to let the President rescue Mr. Rayburn.

Kennedy at his press conference Jan. 25 stated his strong support for a change in the Rules Committee. He said Congress had to be the judge of its own rules and that he expressed his views "as an interested citizen." But behind the scenes, the President mobilized his Cabinet and political supporters to put on pressure for votes. It was anticipated that about 65 Southerners and all but 20 or so Republicans would oppose Speaker Rayburn. This made the outcome very uncertain, so efforts were concentrated on changing some Southern votes and gaining added Republican support.

HEAT'S ON: Secy. of the Interior Stuart Udall was reported calling Republican Congressmen from Western states urging their support. Utall's control of water projects vital to many of these Congressmen gave his appeal weight. Several Southern Democratic Senators supporting Mr. Kennedy were put to work pressuring their states' representatives in the House. So were various Southern Governors. Since members have not yet been assigned to most House committees, Speaker Rayburn has been able to use his power over those appointments to force some Congressmen into line.

On the other side, business interests led by the Chamber of Commerce and the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers have been deluging Congressmen to oppose all threats to the reactionary control of the Rules Committee. Mississippi's Gov. Ross R. Barnett wired all Southern Governors urging them "and other public officials to use every power at their command to influence Southern Congressmen to vote against stacking the Rules Committee." Some Southern Congressmen are being threatened with loss of their seats through reapportionment if they vote against the coalition. Republican leader Halleck is using his power over committee assignments to hold his forces in line.

GOP REBELS: A small band of Republicans including Reps. John V. Lindsay (N.Y.), Thomas Curtis (Mo.), Florence Dwyer (N.J.), Paul A. Fino (N.Y.), Seymour Halpern (N.Y.), William T. Cahill (N.J.), William H. Ayres (Ohio), and Sylvio Conte (Mass.) oppose their Party leadership on the issue. Representing northern urban areas, they fear voter resentment if they help the Rules Committee strangle legislation such as housing and education in alliance with the worst Dixiecrats in Congress.

Although the Rayburn plan to enlarge the committee is decisively important for the Kennedy program, its significance is limited. It is not a move to establish genuine democratic procedures in the House by wiping out the committee's tyranical power. The only change is that a pro-Kennedy boss would be substituted for an anti-Kennedy boss, not majority rule substituted for boss rule.

And even with the Rayburn change the committee would still have a reactionary 10 to 5 majority on matters like civil rights, taxes on oil companies, minimum wages, labor legislation, etc. It is assumed that all five Republicans on an enlarged committee would be strong coalition supporters and it is expected that Rep. Carl Elliott of Alabama would get one of the Democratic seats. Thus the South would have five of the ten Democratic members. Rep. Smith will continue as chairman, with Colmer next in line to become chairman.

THE DEALS: Rayburn's presumed 8 to 7 majority would depend on the support of Rep. Elliott and present committee members James W. Trimble of Texas and Homer Thornberry of Arkansas. Obviously, while these men might support their party leadership on certain issues, on other crucial controversial matters they would undoubtedly reassert the familiar Rules Committee blockade. There is not a single active member of the Democratic liberal caucus on the committee.

The decision of President Kennedy and the Democratic leadership not to seek new civil rights legislation in this Congress was certainly re-enforced in the deals being made to line up Southern votes in the Rules Committee fight. One influential Democrat on the House Labor Committee told this writer that a deal had been made not to seek any pro-labor changes in the Taft-Hartley or Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin laws, and that he believed a similar deal had been made to emasculate proposed Social Security medical care to the aged. If the GOP-Dixiecrat coalition retains its unlimited control of the Rules Committee it is certain to be disastrous for even the mildly liberal proposals given a priority by President Kennedy. If that control shifts to Speaker Rayburn the results are uncertain.

Stone, Muste speak at Friends seminar in N.J. March 24-26

I. F. STONE and A. J. Muste will be among the speakers at a weekend seminar sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, at Hudson Guild Farm near Netcong, N.J., March 24-26. Theme of the discussions is "Search for New Directions, A Quaker Approach to Contemporary Affairs."

Hudson Guild Farm is 55 miles from New York City. Registrations are limited to 60 persons at $2 each. Information is available from the Friends Service Committee, 237 Third Ave., New York 3.

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THE GOODS POUR INTO HAVANA HARBOR

Cuba's economy is riding out Washington's embargo

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

DEMOBILIZING the full-time "emergency" militias on Jan. 19, Fidel Castro said: "We have and will have no economic problems of any kind. We look for no favors or economic aid from the U.S. We have learned that whatever we undertake we can do . . . that our people are capable of the most extraordinary achievements."

As he spoke, 46 ships were docked in Havana harbor—an all-time record according to port authorities. More than 70 ships had berthed in Havana since Jan. 1, bringing raw materials, fuel, food, merchandise and machinery for Cuba's basic needs and reconstruction.

On the rebuilt pier where the **Coubre** exploded last year, sheds were piled high with "iron curtain" phosphates and machine parts and—just in from Liverpool—a "made in Great Britain" assortment including laboratory glassware and what looked like a ten-year scotch supply for the British Embassy. Discharging nearby were ships from Holland, Sweden, the U.S.S.R.

CENTRAL CONTROL: So much for Washington's dream of cutting off supplies. Cuba has substantially shown that—granted it is left in peace—it can adjust its economy and ride out the post-revolutionary bumps, without inflation and to the steadily rising benefit of the mass of citizens. But so much central control is necessary for this, that it is already as hard for a Cuban businessman to "enter the kingdom" as for that camel to pass through the needle's eye.

"Business" in the U.S. sense no longer exists; the freedom to make maximum profits from minimal contributions has been abolished. The landlord and the man who sat in the middle taking his cut are doomed. Yet business management remains important. And though the government is well able to train young replacements in short order, any businessman who can be more than a drone in the hive, and can swallow his pride and prejudice, is welcome to work with the new regime.

Former agents for U.S. merchandise, who are now compelled to deal in "iron curtain" equivalents or drop dead, mutter over their daiquiris about Fidel "getting too close to the Russians—I was for him before that"—and about the inferior quality of the new wares. But among hard-headed technicians whose job is not to sell the new stuff but to work with it, the myth of the superiority of U.S. products has gone with the wind.

ADJUSTMENT: In China I talked with several representatives of that group delightfully known as "people's capitalists"—businessmen, in some cases big industrialists, who learned to accept socialism and were happy working for it. Such people are rare here, but in Santiago I found the agent for a U.S. office-machine firm, sitting at the back of an almost empty showroom, who said:

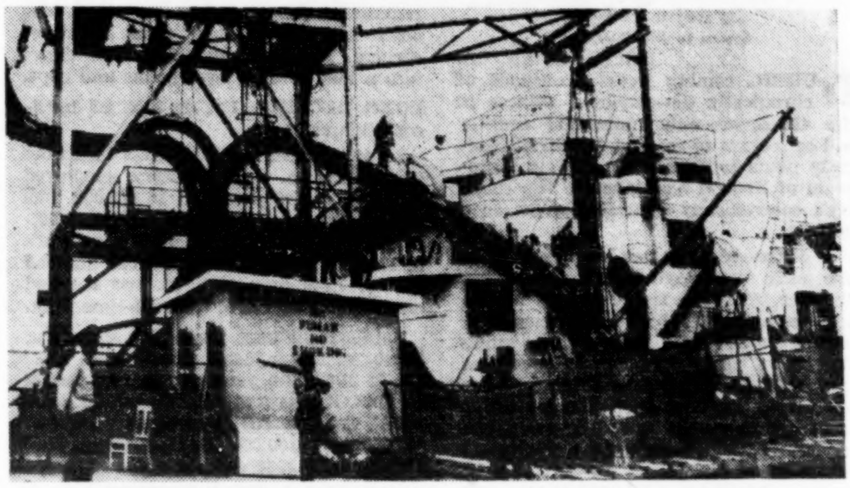
"I shall now be selling East German stuff—the first consignment is on the way—and it's just as good as the old line as far as I can see. It's true I have to operate within strict government controls, and shall make less for myself—but this is outweighed by freedom from the continual worry and uncertainty of the old days. Now everything is orderly and the corruption which spread everywhere has gone. The new police do their job and I haven't heard of one case of attempted grafting or intimidation by them. Those who don't like the revolution? It's really simple—if you think only of yourself you don't like it. Most of our small businessmen are Spaniards with a strong Falangist trend. You wouldn't expect them to cheer Fidel, would you?"

I had talked to businessmen who, admitting the revolution's material benefits to the masses, pointed to the lack of elections as proof that this was done at the price of everybody's freedom. When I mentioned this, the office-machine agent snorted:

"While this government is doing what it's doing, why should any honest person want elections? We've had elections for half a century, and look what they got us! For the first time now, people believe they get the truth from their government and that it **is** theirs—and everyone knows that if you take a cent from the government you go to jail."

THE CHANGES: In the offices of the electric power company — formerly run with disregard for anything but profits for the U.S. Electric Bond & Share octopus—the elderly assistant administrator said he had been 41 years with the firm: the change inside the office was that it was "more efficient and quieter" and corruption had ended. The whole staff stayed on except the general manager, now replaced by a government administrator; work-hours and salaries remained the same.

By the lack of "quietness" formerly, he was referring to the periodic assassinations by Batista's police—often performed in the city streets—of staff members suspected of political activity. Their colleagues would hear what had happened but dared not protest. Materials for the long-needed electrical extension work in Oriente were coming from Japan, Czechoslovakia and Canada, and were "very good, sometimes better" than U.S. supplies.



A BRITISH TANKER UNLOADS SOVIET OIL IN HAVANA HARBOR
A soldier (c.) and a member of the Oil Workers Militia (l.) stand guard

'WE ARE READY TO GIVE OUR LIVES IN DEFENSE OF OUR SOVEREIGNTY'
So says the banner on the building of the nationalized power company

THE RUM BUSINESS: The Bacardi company, making the famous rum and one of Cuba's excellent beers, is humming along with all of the owner-manager family now in voluntary exile. In the head office near Santiago's city center, 58-year-old white-haired Jose Espin, an elegant "senior executive" type and the only Bacardi shareholder remaining, contentedly carries on his top job in charge of the company's purchasing.

Uncritically but rather sadly he talked about former president Jose M. Bosch (married to a Bacardi) and the rest of "the family," now making the best of it on the profits of Bacardi's Mexican and Puerto Rican subsidiaries. When Bacardi was nationalized here last year in Bosch's absence, the state intervenor said Bosch was welcome to return to Cuba. "But the firm doesn't need him," said Espin, "and frankly, all goes along as before." Andres Yebra, a 23-year-old business student who had been in the Fidelista underground, was sent to head the enterprise. Yebra told me he knew nothing whatever about making and selling rum and beer but "I am finding out," and Espin said: "He does his work well, is completely honest and has a phenomenal capacity for work."

PRODUCTION UP: "Although of course our U.S. market has vanished," they told me, "we are actually selling more than before and our problem is how to increase production to meet the demand. The U.S.S.R. alone has ordered 400,000 cases for 1961. Domestic sales are lower since the new government trebled the tax to reduce alcoholism — although December was a record month, showing how much more money Cubans now have for holiday spending." The Bacardi staff was always strongly anti-Batista—as was "the family" too—and a number were murdered by Batista's police. In former days police and army officers would call and take as much liquor as they wanted without paying for it—but "that was normal" for all businesses under the "complete gangsterism" of the Batista regime.

Espin, who has lost some $500,000 worth of personal Cuban interests in the revolution, is confident that the government will eventually compensate him; but meanwhile he lives as before, gets an adequate salary for work he likes, and appears singularly free from worry.

Visiting the U.S. last year, he told his self-exiled former colleagues how well the new regime was doing. He found them "still hoping it would change—but of course it won't. If they returned there would be no trouble, but I doubt if they can ever adapt themselves now. Everybody might as well face the fact that a new order is coming in the world—socialist, communist, I don't know just what. All is changing, all the people want a change to live peacefully, constructively and decently. What's wrong with that?"

Employes at the huge Bacardi distillery-brewery told me: "We have no raw material or machinery problems whatever." The plant already has much European machinery—German, Czech, British, French, Swedish—and they know how good it is. Storerooms are stacked with malt from Canada, hopcake from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. "The only trouble here," they said, "is what those Yanquis may try to do . . ."

Remembering the Maine

IN A MOVE to "modify" the **Maine** monument in Havana, the Cuban government ordered "suppression of the imperial eagle with its tragic symbolism of aggression," and substitution of an Abe Lincoln bust for those of Theodore Roosevelt, William McKinley and Leonard Wood. A new plaque on the monument will read:

"To the victims of the **Maine** who were sacrificed by imperialist voracity in its efforts to seize the island of Cuba, Feb. 15, 1898—Feb. 15, 1961."

BOOKS

CUBA, LAOS, ALGERIA . . .

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The big job of telling the truth

IMAGINE THE TASK of those who undertake to tell the truth to the people of the U.S., where public opinion has for years been under a ceaseless deluge of propaganda—films, the big press, the great radio and TV networks engaged in a veritable contest of falsehood and hysteria. Imagine the difficulty of bringing this public opinion back to reason.

We believe that this public opinion is capable of responding—but that whoever undertakes to make it respond will have to choose between yielding to great pressures and obstacles or courageously deciding to face up to them. But to those who face up to them, who have the courage to tell the people the truth—to those who are honest and frank with the people—to them will be the victory over the pressures and all the lies.

—Fidel Castro, Jan. 21

OLD KING ANTHRACITE IS DEAD

Story of a distressed area

By John Fellows
Special to the Guardian

SHENANDOAH, PA.

DURING coming weeks thousands of chronically dis-employed miners in the 480-square-mile anthracite country will be looking to see how President Kennedy plans to unfold his promised program of Federal assistance to the country's economically distressed areas such as this.

A distressed area has been defined as one with unemployment figures of 6% or more. Here the figure is 12% and in some communities higher. Thousands of miners haven't worked since their mines shut down years ago. They doubt that they will see a job again. They have learned to swallow their miner's pride to accept Salvation Army handouts, the services of welfare agencies and Federal surplus food nosebags. All this would have been unthinkable a few years back.

The reign of Old King Anthracite over the nation's domestic fuel markets has come to a sad finish. Gas and oil have been the usurpers. Anthracite tonnages began to drop alarmingly during the thirties and forties as oil and gas made increasing inroads in the domestic fuel markets. During the last decade the decline has been ruinous. Production of hard coal is where it was a century ago. Employment is below any figures in past anthracite statistics. The depression years are remembered as years of comparative prosperity.

GAIETY GONE: The impact has been disastrous on local community life. Abandoned homes, closed stores, darkened movie houses, empty churches, school buildings converted to industrial or office uses are common sights.

At the once-bustling Majestic pool room on a Saturday night I was startled to see only the counter clerk, smoking a cigar and staring vacantly at the thin traffic along Main Street. His face was eloquent of the town's story. Everyone remembered the great prosperous days. As by some common agreement no one ever mentioned them.

For the town had known good years and decades. The anthracite was for generations a booming industry. Towns like this were known for their population of gay-spirited, hard-working, easy-spending coal diggers. The brawny, heavily-mustached miner has become an extinct figure along with his mine. The able-bodied men are making an exodus to the cities in search of jobs. Those who remain are the too-old or too-young. The older men spend their time at street corners. Teenagers stretch a few dimes into a long evening over sodas and pops.

LONG DECLINE: Let us look at hard-coal figures.

In 1870, when statistics first took note of anthracite, the industry employed 35,600 men and produced 15,172,002 tons of coal. Production rose steadily to 50,966,920 tons by 1894 when it gave work to 139,939 men and boys. Output climbed to 78,647,349 tons in 1905 and reached 100,445,299 tons in 1917, an all-time peak.

Employment kept pace with mounting tonnages. The industry gave jobs to 148,139 in 1902, the year of the Big Strike. In 1914 it reported 180,899 on its payrolls. Employment continued between 150,000 and 160,000 during succeeding decades until 1936 when it dropped under 100,000 for the first time since 1884.

In 1959 the industry was down to a production of 19,670,615 tons of coal. It employed 24,112 persons. The drop has continued. The estimated production for 1960 is 18,000,000 tons with a further sag in employment to 21,000.

OTHER FUELS: This drop has occurred at a time when rising population is reflected in an increasing demand for domestic heating fuels. This market is increasingly dominated by oil and gas. Anthracite has even lost its once exclusive claim on the domestic fuel markets of New England and along the Eastern seaboard.

Anthracite industry leaders are vociferous in their criticism of oil imports from Venezuela and the inequitable depletion tax allowances allowed large gas monopolies. Their protests have had little effect on the inexorable gains being scored by oil and gas in the domestic heating fuel market. The thermostat in the parlor has triumphed over the ash bucket and coal shovel in the basement.

Coal industry historians would be inclined to view the plight of hard-coal as largely the result of past monopolistic practices.

For decades output was dominated by several large railroad carriers. Underproduction and high consumer prices were the rule. Artificial scarcities were maintained as a matter of policy. Immigrants were encouraged to flock to the region to create labor surpluses as a means of keeping wages low and the union weak.

This bleak landscape is typical of the desolation surrounding the towns in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. Monopoly practices of the past, competition of other fuels and automation have combined to turn the area into one of chronic unemployment. Old miners now ask: "What will the new President do?"

These short-sighted policies unfortunately failed to take into account the dangerous rivals—oil and gas—that were then invading the market at those points where the coal companies had failed to furnish their fuel in ample supply. The lauded convenience of oil and gas competed strongly for the consumers' favor. The antiquated methods of burning coal soon made its use seem old-fashioned.

JOBS DISAPPEAR: There were other factors. Underground mining became costlier as seams became less accessible to easy mining methods. Companies became economy-minded and set out on cost-cutting programs that resulted in the elimination of hundreds of breakers and mine shafts and the liquidation of thousands of jobs.

Strip-mining operations with giant electric shovels and bulldozers replaced the mine shafts. These mechanized operations could produce enormous tonnages with only a handful of men. The old miners' skills were no longer needed.

The United Mine Workers Union has been eminently successful in gaining for its membership a set of conditions almost unique. Miners enjoy a seven-hour day. Wages are high. Fringe benefits are among the best known. The fly in this ointment is that jobs have disappeared. More than 144,000 miners have lost their jobs since the 'Thirties. And the squeeze-out is continuing.

There is considerable irony in the fact that the miner has found himself flung into outer darkness and uncertainty just when his union seemed to have attained a complete program of assurance for his future.

TOP CONDITIONS: The union maintains a welfare fund to which operators contribute 40 cents for every ton of coal mined. The fund provides hospitalization, insurance and pension benefits. Pensions start at the age of 60. Due to the decline of the industry the pension allotments were cut from $100 to $50 last year. Medical benefits were also dropped for miners unemployed for more than a year.

The pensions play an important role in the economic life of the communities. Small businesses depend on them. A bank cashier informed me his institution cashes $100,000 in pension checks every month—no small addition to a community's income. Pensioners enjoy their lot. Many collect social security checks and veterans' allowances. Check Day has replaced the former Pay Day as the big spending occasion.

It is the 50-plus age group that is hardest hit. In this group are the men who are too old to find jobs elsewhere and too young to receive pensions. They spend the days loafing on streets and puttering about their homes. They are lost in a timeless world.

JOBS—FOR WOMEN: There is plenty of work for women. The region is studded with small garment factories. It is no longer uncommon for the woman to play the breadwinners' role while her husband cleans house, cooks the meals and sees the children off to school. He gripes to see his patriarchal position as the head of the household crumbling. It is one more concession to harsh reality.

Civic leaders who are trying to attract new industries to the area as a means of bringing new jobs to the resident population bemoan the fact that most small industries that have moved into the region employ mostly women.

The need is for industries to supply work for the unemployed men, one is told. "About 200 jobs for men would go far to get this town out of its rut," one local leader told me.

HIROSHIMA'D: It is remarked in the anthracite that while cities like Warsaw and London were able to dig themselves out of the ruins of war and go on living, this kind of heroic self-rehabilitation program would not be possible in the anthracite. The coal companies not only have abandoned the mines—they have literally razed every breaker and mine-shaft in the area, leaving rotted stumps of old mine timber to indicate their former sites. Even the railroad tracks have been taken away.

"We've been Hiroshima'd. We don't need atom bombs here!" one miner quipped.

So devastated is the region with its breach holes and culm banks and ash dumps and torn hillsides that old-timers confess they often have difficulty in recognizing the scenes of their childhood.

Repeated community efforts at lifting itself by its own bootstraps have convinced most people here that the situation confronting them is beyond their limited resources to tackle. They join with the distressed-area miners of West Virginia and Illinois and other states in looking to see what Washington intends to do in the coming months.

STRIP-MINING MACHINES LIKE THIS SWALLOWED UP THE JOBS
The skills of the old-time miners are replaced by electrical monsters

WHY THE NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL IS UNFIT FOR THE OFFICE—II

How the Kennedys made labor-baiting pay off

By Robert E. Light
(Last of two articles)

BOBBY KENNEDY'S main claim to the Attorney General's post is his work as chief counsel for the Senate rackets committee. President Kennedy, in announcing his brother's appointment, said that Bobby's committee work showed "his intellectual energy, his courage and his organizing ability." But those who followed the hearings closely cite them as proof that Bobby is unfit for the office.

Those concerned with the welfare of unions and the preservation of civil liberties liken the hearings to the late Sen. McCarthy circuses. Had they dealt with political dissenters, the liberal community would have been up in arms. The hearings set a climate for the passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin anti-labor law by making "union" a dirty word.

For the Kennedy brothers the hearings were a vehicle to the White House. The televised sessions made Jack and Bobby national figures—Jack as the handsome moralist and Bobby as the young crusader. But Bobby handled himself more like a TV private eye than a respectful defender of law.

WHAT WASN'T EXPOSED: He badgered and harassed witnesses, condemned by innuendo, relied on hearsay evidence and wire-tapping, and equated guilt with use of the Fifth Amendment. The broad power of the committee allowed him to get away with it, but none of these actions would hold up in court.

The committee was set up to investigate wrongdoing in labor and management. With an enormous staff and budget, it uncovered misfeasance in scores of places, including unions and management. Inevitably some of the dirt lead to politicians' doors.

Roland W. May reported in the York **Gazette and Daily**: "[Bobby] told this correspondent again and again in private conversations about the broad power of big-time hoodlums in labor, business, trade and politics. The center of crime-syndicate crime, he said, lay in its political influence. Yet this was not exposed by the committee under Bobby's direction. It was hardly hinted at."

The vast files on corruption gave Bobby an invaluable weapon in brother Jack's drive for the White House. May said: "The forays of the Kennedy sleuths . . . into St. Louis, Chicago, Gary, Philadelphia, Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx and Miami were followed by a remarkable swing of Democratic machine politicians in the areas to the Kennedy Presidential cause. And unions involved did the same."

SWINGING THE VOTE: In Lake County, Ind., just outside Chicago, local officials were reported to have received payoffs from a pinball-slot machine ring. But they were never called by the committee, although it spent much time on racketeers in the slot machine business. During the campaign, the same officials appeared with Kennedy at a rally. The county went Democratic by 4,000 votes.

Drew Pearson wrote last summer: "Opponents of Sen. Kennedy are still trying to find out what it was that Robert Kennedy held out to Gov. Michael DiSalle to make him swing all the Ohio delegates to the Kennedy camp six months before the convention. They are checking on a rendezvous DiSalle is reported to have had in a Pittsburgh motel with Robert Kennedy and John Bailey [now Democratic National Chairman]."

In deciding whose "corruption" to investigate, Bobby laid the heaviest attack on the Teamsters and Carpenters unions, both of which had presidents who voted Republican.

DRAGON KILLER: Bobby pursued the hearings with the glee of a youngster assigned the hero's role in a cops-and-robbers game. The **Saturday Evening Post** reported that "a certain gaiety pervades the office; nearly everybody here is young. A while back, on [Bobby] Kennedy's birthday, the staff held a party in the office. They gave him a pair of cowboy gloves, a cap gun and a whodunit game."

Before alleged corrupt officials were called, the stage was set by cooperative witnesses or staff investigators who testified to the alleged wrongdoings. When the accused got to the witness chair, without protection of court rules of evidence, their only clear course was to invoke the Fifth Amendment.

BULLY BOY: Yale law professor Alexander M. Bickel, in a **New Republic** article on why Bobby is unfit for office, cited his handling of Joseph P. Glimko, a Teamster official in Chicago.

Kennedy first called staff investigators to make public Glimco's long record of arrests without significant convictions, and to allege that he ran an extortion racket.

When Glimco was called, he used the Fifth Amendment to the first question and it was obvious he would continue to use it if 500 questions were asked. But Bobby continued. He called Glimco "Joey." This exchange followed:

Bobby: You got your citizenship and abused it; did you not?

Glimco: Fifth Amendment.

Bobby: Did you ever do anything to help the union membership, one thing? You don't care anything about yourself and these other people who are gangsters and hoodlums, do you? And you defraud the union . . .?

Glimco: Fifth Amendment.

Bobby: You haven't got the guts to [answer], have you Mr. Glimco?

Glimco: Fifth Amendment.

Chairman: Morally you are kind of yellow inside, are you not? That is the truth about it?

Glimco: Fifth Amendment.

Bickel said: "Mr. Kennedy's exercise of power to destroy or damage individuals was not subject to such safeguards as the right to cross-examination and the right to an impartial judge who is not at the same time also the prosecutor . . . What is one to make of the way both the Senator and Mr. Kennedy took it upon themselves to denounce Glimco at the end? This was the language of a judge passing sentence, not of legislators looking for facts to guide them in their law-making."

INEPT AND UNSKILLED: Other lawyers are also critical of Bobby's abuses of witnesses and some consider him inept in questioning. Robert D. Novak in the **Wall Street Journal** reported the comment of a government lawyer: "Bobby was awfully quick to draw sweeping inferences from awfully thin pieces of evidence." Another lawyer told Novak: "Time and time again . . . I saw him march a witness right up to the brink of what looked like a really hot disclosure of some irregularity—only to fluff it."

In a letter to Rep. Thomas M. Pelly (R-Wash.), Kenneth Rosengren, a lawyer and a Democrat, wrote: "It was common knowledge among the lawyers that young Kennedy was inept and unskilled in both direct and cross-examination. He constantly argued and quarreled with the witnesses. His fumbling and stumbling frequently caused the proceedings to become a Pier 6 shouting contest, rather than an inquiry."

THE BOY CRUSADER AND THE OLD DRAGON
Bobby (l.) listens to Hoffa. Hoffa's lawyer is in the middle

HOFFA NO PATSY: The hearings brought an end to Dave Beck as Teamsters president. In his place came James R. Hoffa. Where Beck was no match for the Kennedys, Hoffa was at least an equal adversary. He was ready, willing and more than able to fight. If there was to be a patsy for the Kennedys' ambitions, he was not going to be it.

Hoffa disdained use of the Fifth Amendment. He took on Bobby and beat him down in argument. He challenged the committee to prove his wrongdoings. If he, or any Teamsters officials, he said could be proved guilty of a crime, let him be locked up.

From the first, knocking down Hoffa became a challenge to Bobby. He pursued it with a zeal second only to his desire to get his brother elected President. When Hoffa was acquitted of attempting to bribe a committee staff member, Bobby accused Justice Dept. lawyers of preparing a poor case.

ISSUE FOR JACK: But Hoffa also served Jack's political career. He became a symbol of "corruption in labor." On the first TV debate with Vice President Nixon, JFK said: "I'm not satisfied when I see men like Jimmy Hoffa, in charge of the largest union in the United States, still free." Later he pledged to remove Hoffa from office. He enlarged the promise later to include Harry Bridges, president of the West Coast Longshoremen.

Bobby's feelings toward Hoffa have many elements of a personal vendetta. Bobby is used to having his own way, but so is Hoffa.

Bobby and Hoffa met for the first time soon after the hearings began and took an immediate dislike to each other. They were brought together by the late Edward Cheyfitz, a Teamster lawyer, at his home. Hoffa recalled the meeting: "I can tell by how he shakes hands what kind of fellow I got. I said to myself, 'Here's a fella thinks he's doing me a favor by talking to me'."

Hoffa also recalled their discussion on unions: "He had the idea that a union is supposed to operate like a social club. I told him about our union. He asked a lot of questions—how I got into the union, how much a labor leader earned and so on. It was as though he was asking, with my limited education what right did I have to run a union like this?"

A SPOILED KID: Bobby recalled the same meeting in his book, **The Enemy Within:** "On my way home I thought of how often Hoffa had said he was tough; that he destroyed employers, hated policemen and broke those who stood in his way . . . when a grown man sat for an evening and talked continuously about his toughness, I could only conclude that he was a bully hiding behind a facade."

Bobby and Hoffa met again in the Federal courthouse when Hoffa was arrested on bribery charges. Bobby recalled that after a few awkward moments of silence they got into a discussion of who could do the most push-ups.

Hoffa's version is: "I said, Listen Bobby, you run your business and I'll run mine. You go on home and go to bed. I'll take care of things. Let's don't have no problems.' He was very unhappy because I called him Bobby. He's a kid, a spoiled kid."

SKULDUGGERY: Bobby has also worked behind-the-scenes to get Hoffa. He has been involved in the maneuverings around the court-imposed Board of Monitors, which is supposed to help clean up the union. On May 17, Bobby called to his Park Avenue apartment two of the 13 rank-and-file Teamsters whose suit led to the monitorship. He told them that he had evidence that one of the monitors, Lawrence Smith, had sold out to Hoffa, and he proposed that they vote to replace Smith with Terrence McShane, a former FBI agent.

Steve Milone, one of the Teamsters, in an affidavit told this story:

"I told him that I was not going to vote to oust Larry Smith on this hearsay evidence. Mr. Kennedy got very excited; he said that he had never said he would use that type of evidence to oust Lawrence Smith. I said to Mr. Kennedy, you said exactly that. You have been telling me about this hearsay evidence and these witnesses you can't bring forward; on those grounds you are asking me to vote to oust Larry Smith and join up with you. I said I would not do it. Mr. Kennedy then said to me you are a liar. I told him I wasn't a liar and that I knew what I was talking about. Kennedy said to me, you are a son of a bitch.

"This coming from Bob Kennedy really shocked me. I said to him that if you will step outside or down the street and repeat that remark I'll flatten you. Kennedy said you will what? I said you heard me. I'll give you one more opportunity to step outside and repeat it, and I'll guarantee I'll flip you."

The would-be combatants were separated. But when Milone left, his affidavit continued, "Bobby came out and put out his hand to apologize. I refused to accept it. He said he had been called a son of a bitch many a time. I said maybe you are one but I'm not."

NO JOKE: Bobby will get a chance to continue his vendetta in his new job. One of the last acts of former Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers was to secure an indictment against Hoffa for allegedly misusing the mails in a Florida land deal.

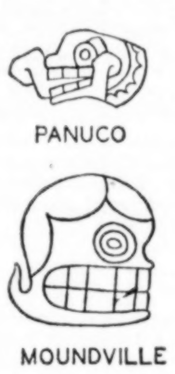
President Kennedy said mischievously of Bobby's appointment: "I can't see that it's wrong to give him a little legal experience before he goes out to practice law." But some union leaders and others who stand in the way of the Kennedy family may find Bobby in the Attorney General's office no joking matter.

BOOKS

The break with our past

THE MAXIM that conquered peoples absorb their conquerors has not proved true of the American Indians and the later inhabitants of the United States. North of the Rio Grande there are few traces of the aboriginal purposes. And continuing expressions of their cultures are few—to our loss morally as well as culturally.

If the moral nature of man arises out of the fact that he is a social and value-creating (or



REPEATED MOTIFS
From ancient cities in Mexico and U.S.

esthetic) creature, he cannot do violence to his kind without damaging his own social faith and his laboriously created sense of values. In committing genocide, as in committing a deliberate homicide, the destroyer must first of all make himself into an instrument for the particular act of violence.

He not only finds it impossible to change back into what he was prior to his crime, but in annihilating another people he also cuts himself off from that part of the past with which he might have connected through his victim. He has broken a strand in the continuity that is our cultural life and, in neither assimilating nor being assimilated by the loser, he loses part of the heritage of culture and part of the inspiration and enjoyment of human life.

WITH SUCH exceptions as Fenimore Cooper and Longfellow, very few of our artists have tried to shrive us by saving or recreating some of the culture of the Indian. John Jay Chapman, our blue-chip radical, knew the direction of truth for us and for our artists when he said: "The votaries of every art that has come to greatness have always worshipped the past."

We know from Mexico that there is more to the past than the Mediterranean and West Europe. And we know from our own melting pot that one does not have to be a white Anglo-Protestant to write good English or be part Indian to see and celebrate the indigenous part of our past.

A start toward correction may be made with anthropologist Frank C. Hibben's **Digging Up America***. It is an unsatisfactory book in many ways, yet it brings a lot of fascinating new and old facts together in one volume.

CARBON DATING and other methods now have man arriving in America 30,000 years ago, hunting in New Mexico 25,000 years ago and in the Eastern U.S. 10,000 years ago (at about the time that the Agrarian Revolution was getting started in Western Asia.)

And some hardy souls were stopping in caves at the southern tip of Chile 8,000 years ago. These times are short as compared to the prehistory of Africa and Eurasia, but they are much longer than those accepted a few decades ago. And they put some depth under the thought that the native cultural achievements may be uniquely independent since man was here long before there were cultivated gardens in the Nile and Mesopotamian valleys.

THE INDIAN LANDS to the south of us also had cities well before the European invasions and migrations. Although none of these followed the old world pattern where river valley cultures lead the way for all others, it remains conceivable that stable and prosperous valley cultures would have evolved soon beside our own Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.

A "population probably as great in its heyday as the present population of St. Louis and surrounding towns" produced the great mounds at Cahokia near East St. Louis, according to Hibben. It is estimated that one such mound took the labor of 100,000 men for 20 years, all some 3,000 years ago.

These tasty bits scattered throughout the treat make the unsatisfactory quality of the rest of the pudding more regrettable. Anyone who had not read else-

Illustrations from Digging Up America

SOPHISTICATED ART WORK
From the Gateway to the Sun, Tiahhuanaco, Peru

where about dating finds by means of carbon 14 decay and by "fossil magnetism" would find Hibben's accounts difficult to grasp.

A few lines of character sketching and biography could surely have been found for George McJenkin, the Negro cowboy and amateur archeologist who discovered the first Folsom points [used for hunting] and about Ales Hrdlicka, the "dean of physical anthropologists" who, according to Hibben, obstructed the progress of American anthropology for many years.

IF THESE useful or harmful activities sprang from character, personal history or social circumstances—and this should not be hard to find out—then the facts ought at least to be hinted at. Otherwise the deeds are left motiveless.

And it is also unnecessary and misleading for a scientist to refer to a "Supreme Being" on page one as characteristic of man when so many of our kind in the past and the present do not find such a hypothesis necessary. The religious behavior of Augustus De Morgan, eminent 19th Century mathematician and teacher and fighter for academic freedom, is more admirable. It was only in his will, opened after his death, that he publicly affirmed his strong religious beliefs "because in my time such confession has always been the way up in the world."

—**Robert Joyce**

**DIGGING UP AMERICA*, by Frank C. Hibben. Hill and Wang, New York. Illustrated with photographs. 239 pp. $5.*

LONG BEFORE THE WHITE MEN CAME
Pottery made by the Temple Mound Builders of Georgia

An affirmation

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Years of pagan weapon worship have reduced our alleged statesmen to moronic mouthpieces for militarism. Power to wage war seems to them the essence of national existence. Whenever opportunity to lessen the likelihood of armed conflict appears, they assiduously sabotage it.

Our acceptance of armament, conscription and espionage as indispensable to security has culminated in our officially considering destruction of human life a logical necessity. Therefore, unless we desire degeneration to Nazi bestiality, each of us must affirm absolute refusal to harm our fellow man, anywhere.

Samuel Michaelson

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THE PATRIOTS OF THE SANTA MARIA

Delgado predicted uprising in interview two years ago

THE PORTUGUESE PATRIOTS who engineered the seizure of the cruise liner **Santa Maria** in the Caribbean last month and staged the liveliest sea escapade in a generation were well known to all but the newest GUARDIAN readers through reports from Cedric Belfrage during the last two years.

Both Gen. Humberto Delgado, leader of the opposition to Portugal's dictator Antonio de Oliviera Salazar, and his supporter Henrique Galvao who commandeered the **Santa Maria** enroute from Curacao to Port Everglades, Fla., were introduced in the GUARDIAN for Jan. 26, 1959.

At that time Delgado, then 52, had taken refuge in the Brazilian embassy in Lisbon to avoid prosecution for "breaching military discipline" in connection with his running against Salazar's presidential candidate in June, 1958. Capt. Galvao, then 64, detained from 1951-58 and then sentenced to 16 years in prison for rendering a critical report on the administration of Portugal's African colonies, was reported to have escaped from a heavily-guarded room in Lisbon's Santa Maria Hospital on Jan. 16, 1959. That he had help in escaping was indicated by previous reports that he was then paralyzed from the waist down.

WISHED HIM LUCK: In November, 1959, Delgado went to London from his exile in Brazil to win support for his challenge to Salazar and Cedric Belfrage interviewed him (GUARDIAN, Dec. 21, 1959). Speaking in what Belfrage described as "fluent and torrential English," Delgado predicted an early uprising in Portugal and said the army would lead it. To Belfrage's observation that army uprisings usually lead nowhere, Delgado declared that "the army will act from patriotism, because they want to be but cannot be proud of their country." Disclaiming any political ambitions of his own ("I hate politics") he said:

"My aim is to amnesty political prisoners, establish a free press and election law, then leave after a year or 18 months and wash my hands."

Of Portugal's African colonies he said:

"It is certain that either the Portuguese government must change its policy in Africa or you will have a terrific fight. Some day the people will ask for independence, and maybe that is better for us, too. They like olive oil and we need friendly customers for it."

Belfrage noted that Delgado's uncompromising courage and sincerity had made a broad impression in London and reported that most anti-Salazar Portuguese in London regarded Delgado as "the only man with what it takes."

Belfrage's own surmise was that Delgado "might make it — and on the GUARDIAN's behalf, I wished him luck."

Test for JFK

(Continued from Page 1)

by ensuring cheap labor and preventing industrialization. Both these groups, therefore, cooperate in maintaining the most reactionary governments in the underdeveloped countries by bribery, corruption and—when necessary—force.

The words "mass misery" are easily spoken but not as easily comprehended. Among the peoples to whom Kennedy referred, many die literally of starvation, most suffer from preventable diseases, life expectancy is low, the rate of illiteracy is high and domestic capital accumulation is meager. These peoples are perpetually on the brink of disaster, constantly in need of emergency measures just to add a few more breaths to life.

SHARP BREAK NEEDED: These are the tasks of their leaders: To bring hope to such peoples, to coax an extra amount of energy out of their sick and starved bodies so they can learn new skills to build a modern economy and produce a surplus for capital accumulation, to inspire them to run even faster than those ahead—as Kenya's Tom Mboya said—so they can catch up with the industrialized countries of the world.

To do this, the leaders and the people have to make a sharp break with their existing social, political and economic structure and start with a clean slate. This would include expropriation of land and mineral resources from landlords and foreign owners, with compensation if owners are reasonable, without compensation if necessary.

They have to plan every aspect of their development to save time, conserve natural resources and manpower, and gain some immediate tangible benefit for all to maintain energy and enthusiasm at a high pitch. They need, in other words, emergency — not normal — measures to cope with a threat to their existence greater than the plague, flood, earthquake or fire. They are at war against the most devastating combination of enemies man has ever known, and their actions should be judged in terms of wartime and not peacetime needs.

SOCIALIST GOALS: Those who are making the most rapid progress use socialism as their tool. But many leaders of even those who are moving haltingly by using capitalist methods promise ultimate socialism so their people will not be discouraged with the slow rate of progress.

China and Cuba are avowedly socialist; India and Mexico pay at least lip service to socialism as the ultimate destination; and Ghana, while presently following a "mixed economy," has made the study of Marxism and socialism compulsory in schools.

CONGOLESE CHILDREN ARE BROUGHT FOR "AID" TO A UN CENTER
But most African leaders think "restitution" would be a better concept

Washington misunderstands, misinterprets and miscalculates the needs of the underdeveloped countries. What it calls help to poor countries is but a continued effort to maintain the old colonial or semi-colonial system and thus protect the interests of its investors. It fails to realize the extreme urgency of a solution for the underdeveloped countries' problems; it calls the measures taken by Cuba, for instance, communism instead of socialism and calls even Nehru and Nkrumah Communists or at least fellow-travelers; demands "democratic elections" in Guinea and Cuba; and thinks of economic help in terms of more investments in raw materials and increased export of agricultural products from these countries.

SHORT OF NEED: Kennedy's most concrete and spectacular suggestions so far have been increased aid for India to win the "race with Red China"; the offer to some countries of long-term, low interest loans; and the recruiting and training of a "Peace Corps" of qualified young volunteers to serve three years overseas "helping other people help themselves."

But for India to "win the race with Red China" requires more than long-term, low interest loans which, incidentally, will not preclude private U.S. investment in India. Agrarian reform, for instance, is still to be fully implemented in India.

The "Peace Corps" members would be more of a handicap than a help to the underdeveloped countries. For there is no evidence that their attitudes would be changed to conform to the needs of these countries. If they go abroad with the idea of helping the peoples of these countries to build a carbon copy of the U.S. social, political, economic and cultural structure, they will more than fail—they will offend their hosts.

RADICAL APPROACHES: Professor Stanley Spector of Washington University, writing on China in **The Nation** (Jan. 28), noted that Marxist and socialist principles "are considered perfectly good blueprints for rapid national development by many underdeveloped nations." Tanganyika leader Julius Nyerere has repeatedly emphasized that a single political party is perfectly logical in an underdeveloped country single-mindedly pursuing a policy of rapid all-round national development. On elections in Cuba, C. Wright Mills wrote in **Listen Yankee:** "A real election in Cuba today . . . could only be meaningful by deliberately giving institutional form to the counter-revolution, and that today would not be acceptable to the immense majority of the people of Cuba."

Improved U.S. relations with underdeveloped countries would require a change in Washington's frame of reference: acceptance with good grace the formation of popular, socialist governments in some underdeveloped lands; informing Americans without prejudice about life in socialist countries, to normalize trade, commerce and cultural exchange for mutual benefit; and to concede to the peoples of underdeveloped countries the inalienable right to take over possession of their resources and use them for their own benefit, no matter who owns and controls them now.

NEW OUTLOOK NEEDED: If the Kennedy Administration's new policy is to be exemplified by its relations with the Congo, Laos and Cuba, latest news from Washington does not seem too hopeful.

Kennedy did not indicate readiness to back imprisoned constitutional Premier Lumumba, who alone has national stature as leader in the Congo and who advocates planned economic development under a strong central government; to stop enriching in Laos the malodorous Nosavan-Boun Oum government, which has admitted lying about "Communist invasion" to assure continued U.S. support of their unpopular regime; to condemn and halt the Central Intelligence Agency's own financial aid to Cuban counterrevolutionaries in Miami, "estimated to range from $135,000 monthly to as high as $500,000 on occasions." (**Times**, Jan. 27).

In fact, press reports on the Kennedy Administration's approach to Cuba foretell a worsening of U.S. relations with the underdeveloped countries. UPI reported (Jan. 28): "Look for early formation of a Cuban government-in-exile and its swift recognition by the U.S. government [for which] the break in relations decreed by former President Eisenhower paved the way." The New York **World Telegram** said editorially (Jan. 28): "U.S. officials are considering using qualified Cuban refugees in our foreign aid program . . . in underdeveloped nations." The editorial added: "That would be unwise."

GENERAL

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ATTORNEY PAUL ZUBER (SECOND FROM RIGHT) CONFERS WITH WITNESSES DURING THE NEW ROCHELLE CASE

The long battle finally ended with the first court order in history against a jimcrow school in the North

Jimcrow in North

(Continued from Page 1)

chelle overwhelmingly approved this proposal by referendum is of no legal significance. Constitutional rights can certainly never be made dependent upon public choice; the consequences, if they were, need hardly be labored."

THE FENCE IS DOWN: Another aspect of the controversy was the neighborhood school policy under which children must go to the school nearest their homes. "They [the plaintiffs] are not attacking the concept of the neighborhood school as an abstract proposition," the opinion said. "They are, rather, attacking its application so as to deny opportunities guaranteed to them by the Constitution."

Parents reacted to the decision with joy. The small gray frame house across the street from Lincoln school was filled with people the day after the news came. Parents, children, well-wishers, reporters and photographers stirred excitement. The telephone rang incessantly—as it had on many days during the past few months while the house was headquarters for the parents.

Mrs. Marjorie Williams, whose home it is, said: "We are thrilled, excited, overwhelmed." Another parent, Willene Murphy, said: "I am thrilled most by the fact that this fight has been carried on by an interracial group which fought together without flinching for so long."

"I feel like an American," Mrs. Williams' husband, Rudolph, said. "I feel like I just moved into a country called America. The kids have been fenced in, but the fence has been torn down now." Barbara Hall said: "It doesn't only affect our children but all the children—the Negro race. It proves we should all unite to fight together."

Only two Board members to comment on the decision were Mrs. Frederick W. Pierce and Nolan M. Fallahay, both of whom had opposed building a new Lincoln school and who favored voluntary transfers for Lincoln pupils. Both said they were gratified by the decision. Other Board members were unavailable or refused to comment. Board President Rukeyser said he would give the judge's opinion "respectful and careful study." Dr. Barbara Mason, Negro principal of nearly all-white Roosevelt school, who has figured in the controversy as an active upholder of Board policy, said: "It's an important decision, but I'm not a lawyer. I'll wait until I hear a lawyer's opinion of it."

VICTORY IN SIGHT: The struggle of 11 years was almost over and the parents were sure of winning. They had only to wait for the Board to implement the decision. No one would try to predict whether or not the Board would appeal. "We don't know what the Board will do." Some Board members said they planned to press for immediate transfers at the Board meeting scheduled for Feb. 1.

The Federal court action was initiated after parents attempted to register their children in New Rochelle schools other than Lincoln this fall. The parents' subsequent arrest on a loitering charge was dismissed in New Rochelle City Court. In a White Plains court a request for a restraining order to keep the parents from further registration attempts was held up pending a decision in the Federal court action. A negligence charge brought against parents for withholding their children from school also awaited the Federal verdict. The children have been privately tutored since September when the Board of Education refused to grant transfers.

The parents' fight was supported by the local NAACP, which entered an amicus curiae [friend of the court] brief, by other organizations and by groups of white parents at other New Rochelle schools who notified the Board that they would welcome Lincoln school children at their schools.

LAWYERS GUILD HELPED: The National Lawyers Guild was associated with Zuber in drawing the trial brief and also filed a friend of the court brief. The Guild had earlier set up a committee on integration which last August had prepared a study outlining the argument used in the case.

The Guild study said that if a child is required to attend a neighborhood school when the Board of Education knows the neighborhood is segregated, and therefore must inevitably be a segregated school, this constitutes state action to perpetrate segregation and is unconstitutional.

Members of the integration committee who participated in preparation of the case were Jonathan Lubbell, Samuel Suckow and Charles T. McKinney, chairman.

HE PREACHES LOVE

Rev. Ashton Jones wins two acquittals in Louisiana courts

REV. ASHTON JONES was convicted last June in Shreveport, La., city court of vagrancy and disturbing the peace. On Jan. 3, 1961, when he went back to Shreveport to appeal the conviction he was arrested again for disturbing the peace.

On Jan. 25 he was acquitted of both charges. The American Civil Liberties Union had filed a complaint with the civil rights division of the U.S. Dept. of Justice protesting the Jan. 3 arrest.

The ACLU complaint said: "The sole objection to him (Jones) is that he believes in brotherhood and believes in publicizing this belief through slogans and pictorial symbols on the side of his car. The Reverend Jones, because of his beliefs, is clearly being subjected to vicious attacks by state officials acting 'under cover of law' . . ."

Rev. Jones has traveled throughout the South preaching peace and brotherhood. When he was arrested last spring in Marshall, Tex., after addressing Negro college students, and a few weeks later in Shreveport, he was beaten by fellow prisoners and prison officials.

Mississippi taxes pay White Council TV bills

MISSISSIPPI taxpayers, including Negroes, are paying $5,000 a month to help finance radio and television programs sponsored by the White Citizens Councils to preserve segregation. The money was allocated to the councils by the State Sovereignty Commission which was created by the legislature and is financed by a legislative grant of $350,000. The Commission is headed by Gov. Ross Barnett. Four of its members are on the executive committee of the Mississippi Assn. of Citizens Councils.

Attorney General Joe Patterson said the $5,000-a-month grant was for "advertising and promotion purposes of interest to the state and not for individual use by councils." The councils are not required to account for their use of the funds.

The radio and television programs feature speakers on states' rights, constitutional government and segregation. Programs are free to stations in 28 states. The programs are conducted by the administrator of the councils, who is also editor of the council newspaper.

Pacific Institute finds a haven

Special to the Guardian

VANCOUVER, B.C.

CONGRESSIONAL witch-hunters in the U.S. have been blamed by four prominent scholars here for helping destroy the Institute of Pacific Relations. They told a press conference that the Institute, an international organization formed 35 years ago to study Pacific affairs, will soon close its New York headquarters.

A 4,000-book library of the IPR and the widely-circulated journal **Pacific Affairs** will become part of the University of British Columbia here, they announced.

Dr. N.A.M. MacKenzie, president of the university, said some of the organizations associated with the Institute are "fed up" with what has been happening in the United States during the last ten years. With Dr. MacKenzie at the press conference last month were Prof. William L. Holland, until recently secretary-general of the IPR in New York, and now chief of the UBC Asian Affairs department; Dean Geoffrey Andrew, deputy to the president, and Dean F.H.S. Soward, director of international studies.

Dean Andrew said: "If the Americans want to louse up their own nest, that's their business. But they must not louse up any future organizations that must take the place of the Institute." Dean Soward said the Institute was seriously affected by the "witch-hunting of the McCarthy and McCarran era."

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IN MEMORIAM

TO JULIA RAMSEY CHRISTENSEN, 1889-1960, public school teacher 15 years, loving farmer's wife, Minnesota Co-operative Activities Union delegate to American Congress Against War and Fascism 1937 in Pittsburgh, Pa. She was "a friend to man—in a house by the side of the road," cheerful and courageous, grandmother of six hopeful Americans. Retired to Lakewood Cemetery, Minneapolis, but her soul is marching on in the hearts of every race that she could reach.

Oscar Christensen
January 25, 1961

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THE GALLERY

WHEN SOME OF THE KENNEDY CLAN vacationed after the elections in Acapulco, Mexico's famed beach, according to the Chicago **Tribune**, JFK's youngest brother Teddy put them through an aquatic contest. Those who performed feats Teddy prescribed earned points; those who missed got demerits. In the back somersault dive contest, Teddy lost his timing and fell back on the board. Ethel, Bobby's wife, rushed to him and shouted: "That doesn't count; you didn't touch water." . . . During JFK's pre-inauguration vacation in Florida, he stopped to talk with a little girl. "And what church does your father go to?" he asked. She answered: "He says he's a contributionalist." . . . By coincidence the AFL-CIO executive board booked rooms at the plush Americana Hotel in Bal Harbour, Fla., for its Feb. 5 meeting at the same time the expelled Teamsters were due to meet there. When AFL-CIO president George Meany learned of the situation, he threatened to change hotels. But Teamster president James R. Hoffa switched hotels in order not to embarrass the Americana management. But on leaving, Teamster officials threw some barbs at Meany. Hoffa said that Meany was angry because "we've been organizing while the AFL-CIO has been sitting on its hands losing members." The Teamsters have added 200,000 members since their expulsion in 1957. Another Teamster official said: "Meany is so aloof from the working man that he thinks manual labor is a Spanish band leader."

SECY. OF DEFENSE Robert S. McNamara doesn't have to worry about getting along on his government salary. When he left as president of Ford he retained the rights to bonuses voted to him in 1957, 1959 and 1960. Accordingly, he received about $100,000 on Jan. 10 and will get $70,000 more on March 15. Between 1962 and 1966, he will get an additional $448,750 in equal payments each Jan. 10. The bonuses were spread to ease his "tax burden." At age 65, McNamara will also get a $167,050 pension from Ford. But that's 21 years hence. . . . The Paris set was drafty when Brigitte Bardot took off her clothes for a scene in "Only for Love." The French "sex kitten" caught a "cold with ear and eye complications." Whose eye the report did not say. . . . Somerville College for women in Oxford, England, had to abandon a plan to pose undergraduates in the nude for paintings to adorn a school ball. Norma Shepherd, 20, led a revolt. She said: "We are only allowed a certain amount of electricity at Somerville, and I might become frozen. Besides, the decor for the ball is supposed to represent a temple of chastity and a stark naked painting would not have been really appropriate." . . . Since the ban on **Lady Chatterly's Lover** was lifted in the British Commonwealth, this ad appeared in a Kenya paper: "Young English society woman desires meet game keeper."

Wall Street Journal

"He started here as a salesman, bought 51% of the stock by charging it to his expense account and . . ."

FOUR YOUTHS WERE ARRESTED in Cedarhurst, L.I., for writing "dirty words" on a public building. They were released by Judge Lyman D. Hall with this lecture: "You are all from good families. . . . Your parents are sacrificing to put you through college. You have a duty to them and to yourselves. I am certain you have learned a lesson by this. See that it doesn't happen again." The unsightly words the boys had inscribed? They were "Sanity? Reality? Morality?" They had painted them on a civil defense model fallout shelter. . . . We are indebted to Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc., 112 Beach Ave., Woodmont, Conn., for this information: "The U.S. military expenditures are $4,000,000 an hour, day and night." Figure it out. . . . Those concerned with the abuse of civil liberties by Congressional hearings gained an unexpected ally last month in Francis Boyer, chairman of the board of Smith, Kline & French Laboratories. In a speech to the Pennsylvania Bar Assn., he said: "In a Congressional hearing, the unfortunate defendants—I used the word advisedly, though I know the proper term is witnesses—can be denied almost every protection that your profession has built up since the days of Magna Carta. The defendant cannot raise an objection to any statement of his accusers, he has no right of cross examination, no right to call witnesses, he has no right even to know what subjects his trial will cover. . . . There are no rules of evidence. Insinuations are valid testimony. The committee calls up the real 'witnesses,' almost all of them carefully chosen hostile critics. . . . Then there is the careful timing of adverse testimony, so that the most sensational tidbit will be released just in time for the newspapers to get the story in their early editions, and just too late for the defendant to answer." Boyer was not coming to a late realization of the abuses of the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Senate rackets investigations. He was referring to the Kefauver drug hearings, which resulted in hospitals and local welfare agencies ordering drugs from small companies at low prices rather than from "name" companies at high prices . . . Fresh Winds Dept.: CBS-TV canceled **The Spy Next Door**, a drama about Soviet espionage, because it was reluctant to hurt President Kennedy's efforts "to improve relations with the Soviet Union."

—**Robert E. Light**

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NEWSPAPER

REPORT TO READERS

The unchillables

(Continued from Page 2)

fondest hopes of my hosts—on the coldest night in recent memory—28 below.

If they had all come from Minneapolis-St. Paul, it would still be something. But listen to this: Mrs. Susie Stageberg, one of Minnesota's grandest figures, came 90 miles on a bus from Red Wing; a dear old farmer friend came 225 miles from the north; Fred Stover, editor of the **U.S. Farm News**, drove in from Des Moines, with farmer Loyal Johnson, to speak. And what's more, he introduced from the audience members and organizers of his United States Farm Association from three states: Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska.

"It is easier," Fred said, "to get farmers to come to a GUARDIAN meeting than it is to get a farmer into the Department of Agriculture." That brought some real north country whoops from the audience. It was a great meeting that Mike Baker and Emma Lee helped to organize. Ted Ptashne, a former member of the Minneapolis Symphony and a violinist with the Casals Festival Symphony, played with composer Lionel Davis at the piano. They were not hired musicians: they read the GUARDIAN. Brother Fred Ptashne was an eloquent chairman.

BUT THE AUDIENCE was the evening for me. The Scandinavian faces, the radical farmer-labor heritage alive in that room, the lumbermen and the trainmen, the fighters for woman's suffrage, the teachers and the social workers. I couldn't help thinking how little we know of what makes up our country—most of us. And how patient and kind and eager for exchange these people are.

One woman came up after the meeting and said: "Thanks for talking up to us." That was all; but it was her way of expressing her mutual respect. Mrs. Stageberg, her handclasp as firm as that of a young woman, which she is in spirit, said: "I expected to see a man with shaggy gray hair and a very high dome. But I am very glad you are young; we need young people at the GUARDIAN very badly." Of course her estimate of my youth was comparative but she was more than privileged to make it. For Susie Stageberg, who came 90 miles to the meeting, was 84 on Jan. 30. "I share that date with Franklin Roosevelt," she said.

An excited young Englishman came up after the meeting too. "How did you happen to come here?" I asked. He took a letter from his pocket: "I got this from a friend in England, who never writes airmail, but did this time." He showed me a special notation in the letter which read: "If you want to hear a genuine American radical, you must go to the Andrews Hotel next Tuesday . . ." Thus the news went from New York to London to Minneapolis. And the young Englishman added his own postscript: "I'm so glad I came," he said, looking at the audience greeting one another before bundling up for home: "I feel as though I am meeting America for the first time."

That was Minneapolis—the kind of city where, when you come into a house, your hostess says: "If you've got the button that's missing from your overcoat I'll sew it on for you." And did.

NEXT DAY—the 25th—the place was the University of Minnesota, a vast sprawling academic entity on the edge of Minneapolis. Here the lecture was held under the unusual joint sponsorship of the Socialist Club and the University chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, the national journalistic honor society. More than sixty students—graduate and undergraduate—and several faculty members were in the audience, and the questions were sharp but always fair. Among other results: ten new subscriptions.

This is being sent to catch a plane east while I take the plane west to San Francisco and then to Los Angeles and back home via Detroit. The climate will be friendlier in California and I'll be glad to shed the overcoat and the boots. But if you really want to know, the trip has been so exciting and warm that I never really felt cold.

—James Aronson

DETROIT

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JAMES ARONSON, Editor

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